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march on London. In spite of overwhelming strength he was, however, unwilling to fight, and Norfolk was only too willing to negotiate. The lengthy negotiation ended in the promise of a general pardon, and of a Parliament to meet at York to settle the question at issue between king and people. The insurgents dispersed to await the upshot, believing themselves masters of the situation. They did not consider themselves rebels; they had simply made an armed demonstration against arbitrary government. The upshot was very different from what they expected, and spasmodic outbursts at Hull, Beverley, Carlisle, with which Aske and D'Arcy had no connection, undid both them and their cause. These insignificantoutbursts gave Henry a pretext for striking at those who had dared to defy his authority sword in hand. Norfolk advanced once more—this time with a powerful force—scattering panic and despair in his progress, proclaiming martial law, and hanging the more notorious rebels who fell into his hands. D'Arcy, Aske, and other leaders who were granted a trial, were convicted, in spite of their denial of complicity with .those who had violated the convention, and executed at York or London. Instead of the promised Parliament, a Council of the North was established at York to hear appeals and maintain order. The Pilgrimage of Grace, as the rebellion was called, had failed to redress the poor man's grievances and restore the authority of the pope. Its failure in the last respect is certainly not regrettable. Henry's despotism might be harsh and egotistic. What that of the fanatic papist would have been, the reign of his bigoted daughter was to prove. Progress did not lie with those who, in their zeal for the pope,* would have burned every Protestant and even every semi-Protestant in England. Men like Cardinal Pole, the exiled champion of these fanatic papists, might in his book, " DC Unitate Ecclesi;u," lower the king to his constitutional place; but it was only to exalt the priest at his expense. We repeat, it was well for England that a rising on behalf of this priestly rule failed. England was yet to have a taste of Cardinal Pole's priestly democracy as an adviser of its sovereign, and it did not relish it.

It is strange that Henry could have played the despot over

England for nearly forty years, as Francis I. played the despot

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